

Message Text

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E.O.11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)

SUBJECT: VISIT BY THE SECRETARY TO TANZANIA

1. EMBASSY VERY MUCH HOPES THAT SECRETARY'S PLAN TO VISIT TANZANIA WILL PROVE POSSIBLE WHEN ITINERARY BECOMES FIRM. WE SUBMIT FOLLOWING SUGGESTIONS AS TO HOW SECRETARY MIGHT INVEST HIS TIME IN TANZANIA IN HOPE HE WILL COME AND ENCOURAGE HIM TO DO SO.

2. MEET WITH PRESIDENT NYERERE. THERE IS ONLY ONE DECISION MAKER IN TANZANIA ON MATTERS OF INTEREST TO THE USG AND HE IS PRESIDENT NYERERE. NYERERE'S ENGLISH IS EXCELLENT AND HE ENJOYS EXTENSIVE CIVILIZED DISCOURSE. NO INTERPRETERS WOULD BE PRESENT AND SESSIONS OF 2-3 HOURS SHOULD BE ANTICIPATED. NYERERE IS AS GOOD A LISTENER AS HE IS A TALKER.

3. WHAT NYERERE WILL WANT TO TALK ABOUT.

A. SOUTH AFRICA. NYERERE OFTEN STATES NO BLACK AFRICAN IS FREE AS LONG AS ANY BLACK AFRICAN IS NOT FREE. THE TANZANIAN PEOPLE SUFFER AS MUCH AS SOUTH AFRICAN BLACKS FROM PRETORIA'S RACIST POLICIES. NYERERE WOULD PRESS THE VIEW THAT THE US SHOULD JOIN THIRD WORLD, "SOCIALIST", AND BLACK AFRICAN EFFORTS TO ISOLATE SOUTH AFRICA SO AS TO WEAKEN ITS GOVERNMENT ECONOMICALLY AND FINANCIALLY. NYERERE'S DEMEANOR WOULD NEVER BE ABUSIVE OR ANGRY. THERE WOULD BE FLASHES OF EMOTION STEMMING FROM HIS TOTAL DEVOTION TO THE CAUSE OF LIBERATING BLACK AFRICANS AND HIS INTENSE FRUSTRATION AT BEING PATENTLY UNABLE TO

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ADVANCE IT BY HIS OWN EFFORTS. NYERERE'S VIEW OF THE US ON THIS

SUBJECT, AS WITH MANY OTHERS, IS "MORE IN SORROW THAN IN ANGER."

B. ANGOLA. NYERERE'S ANGOLA POLICY AS RECENTLY AS APRIL 1975 WAS PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR A GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY WITH HIS PERSONAL PREFERENCE FOR SAVIMBI. SOUTH AFRICA'S INTERVENTION IN SUPPORT OF UNITA WAS KEY FACTOR IN MOVING NYERERE TO SUPPORT MPLA. THIS PUBLIC DIFFERENCE WITH ZAMBIA'S KAUNDA TROUBLES NYERERE WHO HAS TOLD US PRIVATELY HE WISHES EVERYBODY WOULD NOT GET SO UPSET ABOUT ANGOLA. OUR DIALOGUE WITH NYERERE ON ANGOLA INCLUDES HIS CIVILIZED RESPONSE TO THE PRESIDENT'S LETTER AND HIS NON-IDEOLOGICAL APPROACH, BASED ON HIS BELIEF THAT THE US AND TANZANIA -- ON THIS ISSUE -- ARE SUSCEPTIBLE TO REASON.

C. THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM. AN IMPORTANT PART OF THE BASIS FOR MANY OF OUR PROBLEMS IN DEALING WITH PRESIDENT NYERERE IS HIS WORLD VIEW. AT TIMES, NYERERE SOUNDS LIKE A CARICATURE OF A FABIAN SOCIALIST INFLUENCED AFRICAN LEADER. BUT HE GOES EVEN FURTHER. THE WORLD ECONOMIC SYSTEM IS RUN BY THE RICH COUNTRIES. JUST AS THE PROLETARIAT IN MANY COUNTRIES WAS ABLE TO PRESSURE AND SHAME THE RICH BOURGEOISIE INTO SHARING POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC POWER TO AVOID TOTAL DESTRUCTION OF THE SOCIAL ORDER, SO THE POOR NONWHITE MAJORITY OF THE WORLD MUST TODAY COME TOGETHER TO OPPOSE THE RICH WHITE DEVELOPED NATIONS.

D. AT THE UN. IT IS THIS VIEW OF THE VIRTUES OF THIRD WORLD SOLIDARITY WHICH HAS TANZANIA; WITH THE ALGERIANS AGAINST THE US PROPOSAL FOR A NEW KOREAN PEACE CONFERENCE; WITH THE CUBANS IN CONDEMNATION OF AMERICAN COLONIALISM IN PUERTO RICO, ETC. NYERERE DOES NOT PRAISE THE VIRTUES OF THE NORTH KOREAN GOVERNMENT'S INTERNAL POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS NOR SHOULD HE ATTEMPT TO MAKE A SERIOUS CASE FOR US PHYSICAL OPPRESSION OF THE PUERTO RICANS. IT IS RATHER THAT UNBLINKING SOLIDARITY OF THE WEAK -- WHO ARE MOSTLY SOCIALISTS -- IS THE ONLY WAY TO BRING ABOUT A TRANSFER OF RESOURCES FROM THE RICH AND DEVELOPED NATIONS -- WHO ARE MOSTLY NOT SOCIALISTS.

4. NEVER MIND SPECIFIC ISSUES. THE US HAS PENDING BILATERAL BUSINESS WITH TANZANIA -- COMPENSATION FOR NATIONALIZED US PROPERTY, PL 480, FUTURE OF THE AID PROGRAM, ETC., ALONG WITH THE VARIETY OF PROBLEMS WITH THE TANZANIANS IN MULTILATERAL FORA, PARTICULARLY AT THE UN. THE SECRETARY WOULD WANT TO HAVE OUR POSITIONS ON THE MORE IMPORTANT OF THESE IN MIND, BUT HE NEED NOT REFER TO THEM AND NYERERE IS NOT LIKELY TO DO SO EITHER.

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5. WHAT THE SECRETARY MIGHT RAISE. WE RECOMMEND THAT THE SECRETARY PRESENT NYERERE WITH A COHERENT WORLD VIEW TO CAUSE HIM TO LIFT HIS SIGHTS ABOVE HIS PREOCCUPATION WITH SOUTH AFRICA AND BEYOND HIS STEREOTYPED CONCEPT OF AN UNFAIR "WORLD ECONOMIC ORDER". (ANGOLA COULD BE DEALT WITH IN DETAIL IN THIS CONTEXT; RHODESIA, MORE BRIEFLY.) NYERERE DOES NOT OFTEN HAVE A CHANCE TO DISCUSS THINGS OF THIS SCOPE. HE

WAS THE FIRST TANZANIAN IN HISTORY TO WIN A GRADUATE DEGREE ABROAD (M.A. EDINBURGH) AND THERE ARE FEW PEOPLE WITHIN THIS VERY POOR COUNTRY WITH WHOM HE CAN EXCHANGE VIEWS OF ANY DEPTH. MOST VISITING FOREIGNERS TEND TO TREAT HIM AS AN AFRICAN CHAIRMAN MAO, LISTENING RESPECTFULLY AND RETURNING COMPLEMENTARY GENERALITIES SO THAT THE VISIT CAN BE BANALLY DESCRIBED AS HAVING "BEEN CHARACTERIZED BY A POSITIVE ATMOSPHERE". WE THINK THAT NYERERE IS CAPABLE OF MORE SERIOUS CONVERSATION. INDEED THAT IS OUR PRINCIPAL JUSTIFICATION FOR WANTING THE SECRETARY TO COME TO TANZANIA.

6. WHAT IS TO BE ACCOMPLISHED? WE BELIEVE THE SECRETARY CAN EXPECT TO ACHIEVE THE FOLLOWING RESULTS:

- NYERERE WILL FEEL PERSONAL RAPPORT WITH A KEY WASHINGTON OFFICIAL, AN IMPORTANT FACTOR NOW LACKING IN OUR RELATIONSHIP;
- NYERERE'S STEREOTYPE VIEW OF THE US AS BY OUR VERY NATURE AN UNSYMPATHETIC OR EVEN PREDATORY SOCIETY WILL BE EFFECTIVELY CHALLENGED;
- WHILE NOT LIKELY TO YIELD POINTS DIRECTLY DURING THE COURSE OF THE SECRETARY'S VISIT, NYERERE COULD BE EXPECTED TO REFLECT THE EFFECT OF HIS EXCHANGE OF VIEWS IN HIS DEALINGS WITH OTHER AFRICAN LEADERS AND IN HIS FUTURE RECEPTIVITY TO APPROACHES ON MATTERS OF CONCERN TO THE U.S.

7. ACCOMMODATIONS. IF SECRETARY'S SCHEDULE PERMITS, WE (AND WE ARE SURE TANZANIANS) WOULD BE DELIGHTED TO HAVE THE PARTY OVERNIGHT HERE. (WE HAVE, OF COURSE, NOT DISCUSSED ANY OF THIS WITH TANGOV.) THE SECRETARY (AND MRS. KISSINGER) AND ONE OR TWO OTHERS COULD BE EASILY ACCOMMODATED AT AMBASSADOR'S RESIDENCE, OR ENTIRE PARTY COULD STAY IN GOVERNMENT-OWNED KILIMANJARO HOTEL. PHYSICAL SECURITY AGAINST TERRORISM HAS BEEN EFFECTIVE IN DAR ES SALAAM AND TANZANIAN PROTOCOL IS PAINLESS.

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8. TANZANIA OUT OF DAR ES SALAAM. TANZANIANS ARE JUSTLY PROUD OF THEIR GAME PARKS AND WOULD UNDOUBTEDLY BE DEEPLY APPRECIATIVE SHOULD SECRETARY DEMONSTRATE AN INTEREST IN SEEING AFRICAN WILDLIFE. IF ITINERARY CALLS FOR TRAVEL FROM DAR TO NAIROBI (OR VICE VERSA) SUGGEST SECRETARY'S AIRCRAFT LAND AT KILIMANJARO INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT FOR ONE DAY -- OR LESS -- VISIT TO NGORONGORO CRATER FOR CONVENIENT AND SPECTACULAR WILDLIFE EXPERIENCE TO WHICH TANZANIANS WOULD RESPOND VERY FAVORABLY.

9. IF SECRETARY SEES MERIT IN THIS APPROACH TO VISIT, WE WOULD BE HAPPY FURNISH ADDITIONAL INFORMATION ON NYERERE'S VIEWS, PREOCCUPATIONS, AND HOW BEST TO HANDLE HIM -- OR AT LEAST HOW IT LOOKS TO US FROM WAY OUT HERE.

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